

AD 712502

Quarterly Management Report

A World Political Data and Analysis Program

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July 17, 1970

Order Number : 1067	Contract Number: N0014-67-A-
Project Code Number: NR 177-916	0007-0007
Name of Contractor: Yale University	
Date of Contract: 1 September 1967	William J. Foltz
(Signed February, 1970)	Bruce M. Pussett
Amount of Contract:	H. Bradford Pesterfield
Contract Expiration Date:	Jeffrey S. Milstein
August 31, 1970	John D. Sullivan

Title: A World Political Data
and Analysis Program

The Director
Advanced Research Projects Agency
Department of Defense
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

As is required by our contract, I have the honor to submit to you the quarterly management report covering work performed for July 1, 1970 - September 30, 1970.

I. AFRICA
Technical Problems and Accomplishments

The African component of the project continued as planned. Foltz and Pirro continued work on the comparative computer content analysis of speeches by African civilian and military leaders in both French and English. Under Pirro's direct supervision, preliminary runs have begun on Italian and Guinean materials using the Cleveland-McTavish-Pirro "Three-Program Flexible Content Analysis Package," previously submitted. Foltz and Pirro are working together through the summer to prepare joint articles on domestic-international linkages in Africa as they are affected by military takeovers.

Jalloh has continued his analysis of alliance patterns in French-speaking Africa preliminary to a research trip (externally financed) to the area.

Stevens' work on East African intergration is almost finished.

Manuscripts of two other major works prepared in part under project financing are now about ready for the press. These are Hopkin's study of Tanzanian politics and Singleton's study of African alliances and responses to the Congo crisis.

DoD Implications

The new content analysis program Pirro has developed

should substantially reduce costs of data analysis of verbal materials in the future. Other work should have direct applications to U.S. policy decisions relevant to African countries.

Fiscal Status

Amount currently funded	\$20,400
Estimated expenditure to date	<u>20,150</u>
Remaining funds	250

Action required of the government: none

Future Plans: No change to report at this time

II. EMPIRICAL THEORIES ABOUT INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Technical problems and Accomplishments

A. Mr. Russett continued his work on the synthesis of international relations theory which he intends to publish as a book. This work will review existing international relations theory and research with the intention of developing a systematic overview and to synthesizing from it a focused and coherent theory of international politics. Rough drafts of six chapters have so far been completed.

During the reporting period Russett completed a number of manuscripts. One, entitled "Transactions, Community, and Political Intergration," reviews some of the literature on International integration with the view to clarifying the role of transactions such as trade, communications, and personal travel in affecting political perspectives of other nations. I further discusses measurement problems and the role of various indicators. This paper will be published in the Journal of Common Market Studies.

Another paper, "An Empirical Typology of International Military Alliances," has been submitted to the Midwest Journal of Political Science. This examination constitutes factor analysis of Russett's data on all 137 international military alliances concluded during 1920-1957, and shows that pacts where one member was very much more powerful than the others tended to be more durable than alliances among relative equals, and to manifest more of some common characteristics of political intergration, such as military and economic assistance, and the creation of common military and non-military institutions. But neither big-power predominance nor institutionalization predicts well to members fighting on the same side in subsequent wars. On the contrary, multilateral alliances among states that were culturally similar, geographically distant, and roughly equal in power bases were most likely to show their members fighting side-by-side when war came.

Russett's publications during the period included What Price Vigilance? The Burdens of National Defense (New Haven: Yale University Press). Chapter 4 of the book was supported by ARPA and dealt with burden-sharing in contemporary alliances. It showed that military alliances are very unlikely to succeed both in

providing effective deterrence and achieving a proportional distribution of cost of deterrence. If deterrence is actually provided, the smaller states will bear a less than-proportionate share of the common burden. Attempts by the big states to reduce their contributions are likely to succeed only when they diminish their smaller allies' confidence in the deterrence provided. Small states will bear a proportionate or greater-than proportionate share of military expenditures only if they

- a.) feel particularly threatened,
- b.) gain some particular (not common to the alliance) benefits from military expenditures, or
- c.) are coerced to spend more.

An appendix to the book was written by Peter A. Busch and provides a detailed examination of the literature of mathematical models of arms races, beginning with the Richardson efforts. Among its conclusions are that no convincing evidence exists that the majority of the variance in Soviet or American spending can be attributed to variations in the opposite nation's spending. This lack of evidence may be due to poor data and inadequate theory, but nevertheless it encourages attention to the domestic determinants of military spending in each nation as perhaps more influential than classic arms race models would suggest.

Another of Russett's ADPA-supported publications during the quarter appeared in Cahiers Economiques de Bruxelles. An English-language version will appear shortly in the Journal of Common Market Studies under the title "Interdependence and Capabilities for European Cooperation." It shows that while there have been extraordinary increases in international interdependence during this century, there have not been similar increases--and in fact very often have been declines--in many of the social and economic bonds that make possible cooperative behavior between nations. This is illustrated with data on international vs. domestic trends in transactions such as trade, student exchange, mail flows, migration, scientific attention, and investment. The six nations of the European Common Market, however, form major exception: an "island" of increasing bonds where there are important possibilities for political cooperation. At the same time, these forces work to divide continental Western Europe from Britain and the United States.

B. 1. Informal Alignments

Mr. Sullivan continued his work on alliances and alignments during this quarter. He completed a paper entitled "The Dimensions of United States alignments in the "Third World" which was presented at the International Studies Association meetings, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, April 2-4. This paper discussed a measure of informal alignments and explored relationships between this measure and factors hypothesized to be related to it. In general, it was found that past levels of alignments were the best predictors of United States alignments in the period 1966-67. In addition to examining United States relations with the third world, Sullivan explored other aspects of informal international alignments. He analyzed alignments between three great powers, the United States, Russia, and Communist China, and the nations

which were most active in the Dimensionality of Nations data bank. In addition, Sullivan selected a random sample of most active nation dyads. Again, the factor which was most significantly related to alignments, for both types of dyads, was past levels of alignment. For the Great Power dyads, intra-dyadic trade was also significantly related to alignment patterns. For the Most Active nation dyads, similar geographical region was significantly related to alignment patterns.

Throughout this research, the problem of measuring the concepts of interest has been stressed. For instance, while the measure of informal alignments presently being employed is considered the best one available for the concept as explicated in this research, it is clear that it needs further development and refinement. Sullivan intends to spend considerable time working on this and other measures of informal alignments. From a policy point of view, the above findings are quite interesting. To the extent that a decision-maker is concerned with likely patterns of alignment, this research suggests that, in general, he should look to past patterns of alignment in attempting to ascertain likely current patterns. The measure employed in this study depends on pairs of nations sharing the same third party as a conflict object. In one sense, aligning as measured here represents an escalatory process, since it involves a party directing conflict acts toward an object being joined by a second party who behaves in a similar manner. Thus, a decision-maker concerned with the conflict acts of a country and, in particular, whether that conflict situation will escalate, should, depending on the type of nation involved, look to past patterns of alignment intra-dyadic trade or the geographical region of the potential aligners.

2.) Alliance Literature Critique

Sullivan also completed a revised draft of a paper surveying quantitative work done on alliances and alignments. This paper will appear in Behavioral International Politics (San Francisco: Chandler Press) edited by Michael Haas. This paper examined a variety of studies which investigated the effects of alliances on the behavior of nations and on the international system and the effects of the international system on patterns of alliance maintenance. Sullivan also pointed out areas which were in need of additional research and proposed a typology for the study of alliance maintenance. In his conclusion, Sullivan examined these various research efforts in terms of their policy relevance. In general the conclusion reached was that most of the studies did have some bearing to policy problems. Each study suggested that certain kinds of developments, such as the spread of nuclear weapons among the members of an alliance, would have identifiable consequences, such as the disruption of cohesion in the alliance. This suggests that, to the extent that a bloc or alliance leader could influence the spread of nuclear capability among the members of his bloc, if he desired to maintain bloc cohesion he would want to inhibit that development.

3.) Domestic and Foreign Conflict

Sullivan has underway a project which attempts to examine the relationship between domestic disruption and aggressive be-

behaviors on the part of nations within the international system. Up to this point, he has examined the tendency for different types of domestic disruption to lead to intervention in that disruption by other nations in the international system. At the present time, this research suggests that nations which experience organized disruption, which are relatively small in size, and which are economically dependent on other nations, will also tend to experience armed intervention. Put another way, one can expect that organized disruption in small economically dependent nations will become internationalized by the actions of other nations in the international system. The data from this study, as well as a report of the findings, will appear in the second edition of the World Handbook of Social and Political Indicators. (New Haven: Yale Press)

4.) Future plans

For the future, Sullivan plans to continue with a number of research interests. He intends to continue to work with both formal alliances and informal alignments. His concern here will be with the development of better models to account for various aspects of alliance and alignment patterns. In addition, he is presently in the planning stages of an event data based computer simulation of international conflict. This simulation will involve the development of a model and the simulation of that model employing the WEIS event data and the World Handbook II attribute data. The model, in its initial stages of development, will deal with the processes leading up to armed conflict between nations. In addition to the WEIS event data, the simulation will probably include such attributes as military power, alliance commitments, and economic capability

C. Mr. Wilstein completed two new papers this past quarter. The first, The Vietnam War Since the 1968 Tet Offensive: A Quantitative Analysis, was delivered to the VIII World Congress of the International Political Science Association, in Munich, West Germany. In it Wilstein analyzed the relationships among Vietnamization, U.S. disengagement, pacification, military casualties and political consequences in South Vietnam, among the Viet Cong and in the U.S.

The major substantive conclusions of this study are:

The "Vietnamization" policy of strengthening the forces of the South Vietnamese government while disengaging U.S. military forces from Vietnam, while endorsed by the U.S. public, has weakened economic stability and popular confidence in South Vietnam.

North Vietnamese and Viet Cong armed attacks have declined as the U.S. forces have decreased their total military efforts in South Vietnam.

Viet Cong terror has increased along with Vietnamization. Viet Cong support has declined along with increased Vietnamization. One may infer that Viet Cong terror has escalated in response to the indigenous escalation of Vietnamization, trying to make up by coercion what they have lost in voluntary popular support.

Viet Cong terror has contributed to the decline in popular confidence in the South Vietnamese regime.

Both sides in South Vietnam have thus lost rather than gained popular support as a result of their military actions. The people caught in the middle of the conflict have apparently sought to avoid commitment to either side.

The Nixon administration faces a dilemma: To risk further weakening the South Vietnamese government's support by continuing the disengagement of U.S. troops, or to risk losing the support of the U.S. public by slowing down or halting U.S. troop withdrawals from South Vietnam.

The second paper Milstein completed this quarter, American and Soviet Influences on Arab-Israeli Violence: A Statistical Analysis was delivered to the 66th annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Los Angeles,

Analyzing data from 1948-1967, the major substantive conclusions of this study are:

When controlling for other more important factors, the initiation of violence by Arabs and Israelis is generally independent of Soviet and American inputs such as economic aid, military assistance, and trade. A few things could be done to help reduce that violence: The United States could increase its economic aid to Israel, its trade with Egypt and Iraq, and decrease its military assistance to Saudi Arabia. The Soviet Union could decrease its trade with Syria. These follow from:

- 1.) U.S. economic aid to Israel seems to decrease Israeli initiated encounters between guerrillas and government forces and attacks on civilians;
- 2.) Egyptian special imports from the U.S. tend to decrease Egyptian initiated encounters between government forces;
- 3.) Iraqi special imports from the U.S. seem to decrease Iraqi initiated encounters between government forces;
- 4.) U.S. military aid to Saudi Arabia seems to increase Saudi Arabian initiated encounters between government forces, and mobilizations and alerts; and
- 5.) Syrian special imports from the Soviet Union seem to increase Syrian initiated encounters between guerrillas and government forces, and attacks on bases and strategic installations.

Arab and Israeli violence is generally independent of the difference in military capabilities between Israel and each of the Arab countries.

The violent actions of Israel and each of the Arab countries can be best explained and predicted by the violent actions of each country's enemy, in an action-reaction pattern resembling "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."

The Arab-Israeli arms race is a result of the deeply rooted violent conflict between Israel and the Arabs; the U.S. and the Soviet Union have had very limited influence over the arms expenditures of these countries, the notable exceptions being U.S. influence on Israeli and Jordanian arms spending, and Soviet influence on Egyptian arms spending.

U.S. and Soviet leaders should realize how limited their

influence is over Arab and Israeli arms spending and Arab and Israeli violence, or they risk an involvement in the Arab-Israeli conflict much graver than they would have intended.

DoD Implications

The research aims of these investigators are to devise and test quantitative techniques which can be employed to assess the problem forms of conflict and cooperation between nations, thereby assisting the Department of Defense in its long-range logistical and strategic planning.

Fiscal status

Amount currently funded	\$81,000
Estimated expenditure to date	11,500
Remaining funds	<u>69,500</u>

Action required of the government: none

Future Plans: No change to report at this time

III. AUSTRALIAN LINKS WITH BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

Technical Problem

Mr. Westerfield's project seeks to analyze the domestic and international influences that have shaped key governmental decisions in Australia since 1937 in such a way as to alter its links with Britain and to strengthen its links with the United States. Westerfield's concern is with the major recurrent international integrative and disintegrative forces that are exemplified in this particular instance of shifting alignments, including the changes that occur in the foreign policy decision making process itself under such circumstances.

General Methodology

Westerfield is studying the evolution of mass opinion through available Australian survey materials, and of elite opinion identifiable through content analysis of representative Australian periodicals and parliamentary debates; he also intends to study the impact of electoral politics (including geographic and demographic factors). The effects of the power structure of the political parties inside and outside parliament also command his attention. The various elements of the study will converge to a focus that aims to shed additional light on the executive decision making process, for some key episodes at least, by means of interviews in Australia; but for diplomatic reasons the fieldwork will not be under DoD auspices.

Accomplishments - Technical Results

Data have been gathered from a detailed examination of all the Australian parliamentary debates bearing on foreign affairs in several pivotal years of the 1950's and 1960's. The idea has been to identify the foreign affairs activists in the legislature, as individuals and as members of visible interest groups, cause groups, religious and ethnic groups, and party factions. In the past quarter

these data have been analyzed to develop a model of some of these alignments, showing for each part what are the basic, recurrent cross-cutting policy orientation that unite or divide its prominent members, as particular issues arise to engage those predispositions.

In order to clarify the interrelationship between intellectual and journalistic elite statements and those of the legislators, year by year, a content analysis of Australian journals of opinion has been made, and the investigation will next center on examining those links and determining to what extent the attitudes lead or lag behind such objective conditions as changes in patterns of foreign trade and investments and allies' force deployments in the region.

Problems encountered: none

Fiscal status

Amount currently funded	\$58,700.00
Estimated expenditures to date	40,215.27
Remaining funds	18,484.73

Action required of the government: none.

Future plans: No change to report at this time

DoD Implications

The research indicates an encon-passing pattern in the country's foreign policy making -- a pattern that emphasizes a ubiquitous feeling in Australia of powerlessness and dependency in international affairs; this attitude seems to be shared both by those who are generally complacent about it and also by the others who indulge half-heartedly in various gestures against it.

Implications for Further Research

The above suggests that this study as a whole may be a basis for comparative study of other "unequal alliances."

On behalf of the participating scholars,

Sincerely yours,

Jeffrey S. Milstein

Jeffrey S. Milstein
Co-principle Investigator